

OCA 88-0930
1 April 1988

OCA FILE

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Deputy Director

FROM: John Helgerson
Director of Congressional Affairs

SUBJECT: Breakfast with Frank Wolf (R., VA)

1. You will host Representative Wolf for breakfast at 8:00 a.m. on 5 April. He will be accompanied by his administrative assistant, Charles White. Rae Huffstutler, Hank Mahoney, [redacted] and I will join you. The breakfast is at our initiative. Following breakfast you will introduce Mr. Wolf to the DCI.

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2. Mr. Wolf's staff has discussed this breakfast with him and indicates that he would be interested in the following topics:

- McLean Citizen Complaints. Mr. Wolf will want to know what the Agency has done to reach some accommodation with residents adjoining Agency property along Savile Lane. He called Congressional Affairs on Wednesday of this week to say that local citizens had called him to complain about the installation of a fence, the location of a jogging path, and the rumored siting of the Agency day care center in proximity of Savile Lane. He asked that the Agency meet with Mr. Richard Tierney, a local representative, prior to Tuesday evening, 4 April, when the McLean Citizens Association will hold a meeting during which Agency plans along Savile Lane will be raised. Mr. Wolf has been informed that such a meeting will be arranged with Mr. Tierney before Tuesday and that the Agency is "prepared to discuss the issues." A briefing has been arranged for you on Monday, 4 April, at 5:00 p.m. to go over how the Agency intends to respond to Mr. Wolf at breakfast the next morning.
- New Building Project. Mr. Wolf will be looking for a general update on the status of the new headquarters building. He will be particularly interested in the plans for occupancy and how traffic will be affected on Routes 123, 193, and the George Washington Parkway.

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You should offer him a tour of the new building even though his staff does not think his schedule will allow it. He may, however, accept a guided drive around the compound before he departs.

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- Employee Morale. During several meetings and briefings, Mr. Wolf has expressed interest in the morale of Agency employees. His interest is sparked by his perception that, in the aftermath of the Iran-Contra affair, employee attitudes and morale have been adversely affected. He is a strong supporter of the Agency and holds the view that the morale of its people is an important ingredient affecting the quality of the work.
- Leave Donation Act (HR 3757). Mr. Wolf has been an active supporter and sponsor of efforts to legislate a leave donation program whereby Federal employees would be permitted to transfer annual leave to those employees who are experiencing a medical emergency but who have used all available sick and annual leave. The Agency has obtained an exemption from the House version (HR 3757) which will permit the Director to establish a leave donation program without the oversight of the Office of Personnel Management and the concomitant required reporting. Mr. Wolf wrote to the DCI in February to express his hope that the Agency would institute a program which would be "the envy of the Federal sector." A discussion of the Agency plans for instituting a leave donation program would be appropriate.
- Early Retirement. Mr. Wolf supports legislation which would permit Federal employees to retire early in order to alleviate potentially damaging personnel cuts which could occur under the provisions of Gramm-Rudman. He may ask for Agency views on the two pending Optional Early Retirement Bills (HR 818 and S 42). Under the provisions of both, employees would

be eligible to retire at any age with 25 years of service, age 50 with 20 years, age 55 with 15 years or age 57 with five years. The Agency is on record as opposing the legislation because those employees who would become eligible for retirement possess key and irreplaceable intelligence skills by reason of their years of experience.

-- Human Rights. While Mr. Wolf is generally interested in the area of human rights and religious freedom in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, he is keenly interested in Rumanian discrimination against Christian groups. He would like an update on the plight of religious sects in Rumania. After attending a conference on Human Rights and International Cooperation in the Netherlands during January, he traveled to Rumania where he discussed human rights with religious leaders of that country. He has actively sought to deny Rumania a "Most Favored Nation" status until the Rumanian government ceases anti-church activities.

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John L. Helgersen

Attachments

cc: DDA
ADDA
D/OP
DD/OL

Distribution:

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OCA: [] (31 Mar 88) CONFIDENTIAL

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Name (including party/state:) Frank R. Wolf (R., VA)

District: Virginia -- 10th District

First elected: 1982 Up for re-election: 1988 Winning %: 60%

Past service on intelligence committee: Yes: No: X

Current service on intelligence committee: Yes: No: X

Term on intelligence committee expires:

Other committee assignments: Appropriations; Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families.

Major legislative interests: Highway funding, Federal employees and Human Rights in the Soviet Union and Rumania.

Key votes:

Intelligence interests:

Visits to CIA facilities: Breakfast with DDA last year at Hqs.

Last contact with DCI/DDCI: None known

Recent correspondence: Constituent complaint (February 1988);

Letter on Leave Transfer Act (March 1988)

Virginia - 10th District

10 Frank R. Wolf (R)

Of Vienna — Elected 1980

Born: Jan. 30, 1939, Philadelphia, Pa.

Education: Pennsylvania State U., B.A. 1961; Georgetown U., LL.B. 1965.

Military Career: Army, 1962-63, Reserve, 1963-67.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Carolyn Stover; five children.

Religion: Presbyterian.

Political Career: Sought Republican nomination for U.S. House, 1976; Republican nominee for U.S. House, 1978.

Capitol Office: 130 Cannon Bldg. 20515; 225-5136.



In Washington: One might think that anybody representing one of the nation's most affluent, highly educated, politically sophisticated districts would try to impress his curious constituents with a flood of information and opinions about important national issues.

That is not the way Frank Wolf works. Perfectly positioned as a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Transportation to deal with the auto, air, and rail transit problems of his suburban constituents, Wolf is the ultimate House practitioner of local politics.

Considerably to the right of his district on most major issues, he essentially avoids them except to cast quiet conservative votes on the House floor. Instead, he pursues local causes with a zeal bordering on fanaticism. Listening to his speeches or reading his literature, it is hard to tell whether he is running for Congress or a county board.

Every House member tries to obtain highway funding for his district. But none plays a more personal role in trying to unravel traffic tie-ups than Wolf. He promotes himself as a sort of ombudsman for Northern Virginia commuters.

No traffic problem is too small for his attention. Early in 1987, Wolf wrote to the commissioner of the Virginia Department of Transportation, asking him to look for ways to ease backups at the tollgates on a highway in western Fairfax County. In the 99th Congress, Wolf helped negotiate an agreement with the National Park Service, which had raised environmental objections to widening a parkway and bridge connecting his district with Washington.

Wolf also was a leader in the effort to turn control of his district's two large airports — National and Dulles International — from fed-

eral to local authorities. Working with Democrat Norman Y. Mineta, the chairman of the Public Works Subcommittee on Aviation, Wolf helped craft the 1986 law authorizing the creation of a regional panel that will hold long-term leases on the airports. He has worked hard during his career to cap passenger levels at National, which is overcrowded, noisy, and unpopular with those living around it, and encourage use of Dulles, which is enjoying a boom after years of under-utilization.

Unlike Stan Parris, the other Republican from D.C.'s Virginia suburbs, Wolf shows little interest in partisan confrontation. He has worked well for example, with Maryland Democrat Steny H. Hoyer, a fellow-member of Appropriations. The two have lobbied jointly for D.C.'s Metro rapid transit system, and fought with the U.S. Office of Personnel Management over work rules for federal employees.

Wolf speaks up occasionally on an issue of national importance — he was one of the first members of Congress to travel to Ethiopia and to focus attention on the continuing famine there. For the most part, though, he sticks to subjects on which there is a clear consensus and the political risks at home are small.

Some critics grouse about Wolf's willingness to support most of President Reagan's domestic budget-cutting efforts, while excepting those that pertain to federal workers. During budget deliberations in 1985, Wolf said he could support cuts in a number of program areas, but turned a cold shoulder to proposals to freeze pensions for federal employees and veterans. "I just could not support that," Wolf said. Many of his most vocal constituents would not support it either.

At Home: Democrats have derisively referred to Wolf as a "pothole" politician. But

Frank R. Wolf, R-Va.

Virginia 10

The 10th is one of the most affluent districts in any Southern state, but it is hardly fair to identify it with the South. It is basically a set of bedroom communities for civil servants, people who work in the Pentagon, and others whose livelihoods are connected with the federal government. It is one of the most transient areas of the country, with an estimated 20 percent of the registered voters new each year.

Arlington County, just outside Washington, D.C., grew rapidly in the 1950s and 1960s as the work force of the federal government expanded. Home for more than one out of every four residents in the district, Arlington is the prime source of Democratic votes in the 10th. President Reagan won the county in 1980, but Walter F. Mondale reclaimed it for the Democrats four years later. Democratic Lt. Gov. Richard J. Davis took it with 60 percent of the vote in his losing 1982 U.S. Senate bid.

Although suburban sprawl has peaked in Arlington — the county lost 12 percent of its population in the 1970s — there has been some movement of younger, affluent professionals into condominiums and rental housing. These people are more liberal than the average Virginian, but they are transient and hard to rely on politically.

There are relatively few blacks in Arlington, but the county is becoming a melting pot for other minorities. Asians, Hispanics and other minority groups together make up roughly one-quarter of the popula-

D.C. Suburbs; Arlington County

tion. Arlington has the second-highest concentration of Vietnamese in the country, and its "Little Saigon" area is a magnet for Vietnamese-owned businesses.

Moving west from Arlington into the northern part of Fairfax County, the GOP vote increases. Like southern Fairfax, which is in the 8th District, this part of the county is filling up rapidly with commuters and new white-collar industries. Traffic congestion is the top concern of many Fairfax residents; local government bodies frequently are the stage for pitched battles between pro-growth and slow-growth forces. Getting around by car is such a hassle nowadays that some businesses are turning sour on the county. The American Automobile Association recently announced it would move its national headquarters from Fairfax County to central Florida.

Reagan took 62 percent in the Fairfax County portion of the 10th in 1984, but, as elsewhere in the district, he ran behind Wolf.

Farther northwest is Loudoun County, home base of long-distance commuters, but also part of Northern Virginia's "hunt" country, a rolling landscape dotted with sprawling country houses, horse farms and an occasional vineyard. Wolf and Reagan got nearly 70 percent in Loudoun in 1984.

Population: 535,125. White 466,595 (87%). Black 35,259 (7%). Other 21,974 (4%). Spanish origin 21,573 (4%). 18 and over 401,286 (75%). 65 and over 40,208 (8%). Median age: 31.

wearing the label of localist as a badge of honor, he has built a secure political base in the Northern Virginia suburbs.

Democrats have long been hopeful about ousting Wolf. Never were their hopes higher than in 1986, when they ran John G. Milliken, a member and past chairman of the Arlington County Board of Supervisors.

Unlike previous challengers, who had to fend off either a liberal reputation or a carpet-bagger stigma, Milliken had long experience in local government and a reputation as a moderate Democrat in the mold of the state's recent governor, Charles S. Robb.

As chairman of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority and the Northern

Virginia Transportation Commission, Milliken had been involved in many of the same transportation questions that Wolf had. As a result, Milliken argued, he could match Wolf's expertise on suburban issues while providing a more forceful voice on national issues.

But while Milliken seemed to have the political image, the local roots and the money — nearly \$750,000 — needed to challenge Wolf, he had trouble framing an argument as to why the hard-working, if undynamic, incumbent should be replaced. Viewed widely as a diligent plodder rather than a conservative ideologue, Wolf had never been a lightning rod for controversy.

Milliken tried to make him one, running

Frank R. Wolf, R-Va.

TV ads that criticized Wolf's 1984 vote to cut federal aid to schools that barred voluntary prayers, spoken or silent. In the ad, Milliken remarked that he would rather fight to place good teachers in the schools than "to spin my wheels pushing a government-written prayer."

Wolf angrily responded that while he supported voluntary school prayers, he opposed mandatory government-written prayers. Wolf ran his own ad featuring GOP Sen. John W. Warner saying that he had never seen a "worse distortion of the truth" than the Milliken ad.

The episode seemed to slow any momentum that Milliken might have had. On Election Day, Wolf swamped Milliken in the populous outer suburbs of Fairfax and Loudoun counties, while running virtually even with his challenger in Democratic Arlington, where Milliken had won re-election to the county board in 1984 with 70 percent of the vote. Wolf's impressive victory may not have made the seat secure, but it is almost certain to give Democrats pause as they draw up their list of target races for 1988.

From its beginning, Wolf's career has been a testament to persistence. Barely a year after Democrat Joseph L. Fisher first won this

House seat in 1974, Wolf began campaigning to defeat him. His 1976 effort had the backing of local Reagan activists, but did not survive the primary. Two years later, with more name recognition and better financing, he won the GOP nomination, but lost to Fisher by almost 9,000 votes. His reward came in 1980. Backed by a huge budget, Wolf ended five years of effort with a narrow victory.

Wolf is neither eloquent nor colorful, although he is occasionally accompanied by an aide dressed in a wolf's suit. But he has proven adept at organization and fund raising, collecting nearly \$3 million since 1979 to finance meticulous campaigns that feature direct-mail appeals written in Spanish and Vietnamese as well as English. Wolf has gone from a primary defeat in 1976 to comfortable back-to-back general election wins a decade later.

In the early campaigns, Fisher chided Wolf for his lack of government experience. But having been a lobbyist, an aide to Republican Rep. Edward G. Biester of Pennsylvania, and deputy assistant secretary of the interior, Wolf could claim he knew his way around the Capitol. That issue turned out not to be a problem.

Committees

Appropriations (18th of 22 Republicans)
Transportation and Related Agencies; Treasury, Postal Service and General Government.

Select Children, Youth and Families (3rd of 12 Republicans)
Economic Security (ranking).

Elections**1986 General**

Frank R. Wolf (R) 95,724 (60%)
John G. Milliken (D) 63,292 (40%)

1984 General

Frank R. Wolf (R) 158,528 (63%)
John P. Flannery II (D) 95,074 (37%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1982 (53%) 1980 (51%)

District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D	106,911 (41%)	D	76,676 (34%)	D	95,532 (47%)
R	154,507 (59%)	R	120,328 (53%)	R	104,815 (51%)
		I	23,999 (11%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1986			
Wolf (R)	\$1,097,358	\$310,833 (28%)	\$1,124,866
Milliken (D)	\$746,532	\$200,666 (27%)	\$748,918
1984			
Wolf (R)	\$659,591	\$230,729 (35%)	\$625,857
Flannery (D)	\$426,838	\$120,010 (28%)	\$427,297

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	67	33	74	25	78	22
1985	70	30	72	25	75	24
1984	64	33	71	27	86	12
1983	77	23	79	19	87	13
1982	56	39	69	28	78	15
1981	76†	24†	83	17	88†	12†

S = Support O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes.

Key Votes

Produce MX missiles (1985)	Y
Cut federal subsidy for water projects (1985)	Y
Weaken gun control laws (1986)	Y
Cut back public housing construction (1986)	Y
Aid Nicaraguan contras (1986)	Y
Impose textile import limits over Reagan veto (1986)	N
Block chemical weapons production (1986)	N
Impose South African sanctions over Reagan veto (1986)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	5	86	21	67
1985	15	71	24	73
1984	10	63	25	63
1983	5	96	6	75
1982	10	67	20	82
1981	10	93	0	100